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Dr. P R I C E's

OBSERVATIONS

O N T H E

N A T U R E

O F

CIVIL LIBERTY, &c.

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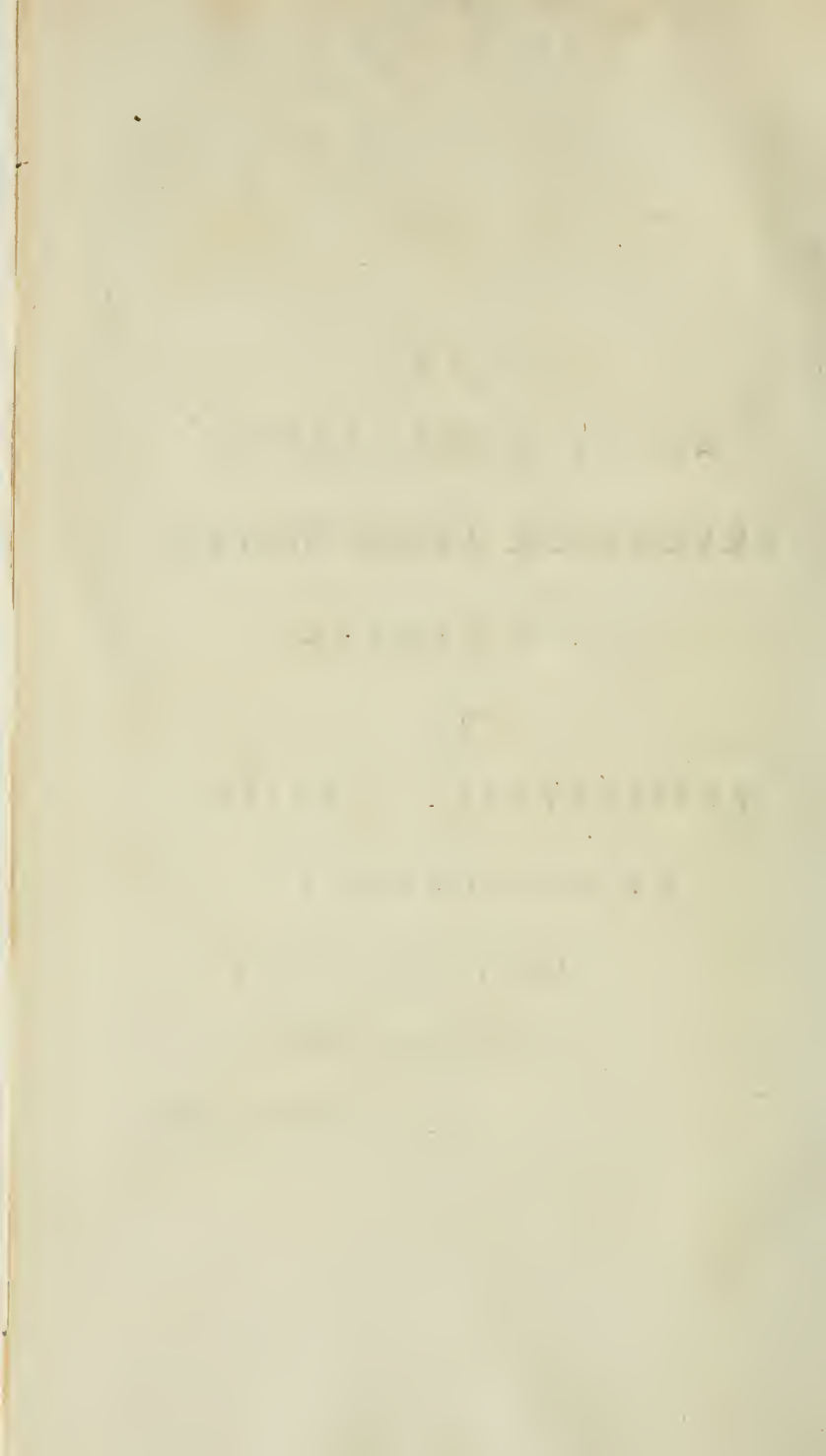
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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
FREDERICK LORD NORTH,
THESE REMARKS
ARE
RESPECTFULLY INCRIBED
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
MOST OBEDIENT
HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.



R E M A R K S

ON THE

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE author of the Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, &c, &c. endeavours to evince, that we have no pretension to the government of our own colonies in America. Strange doctrine ! to inculcate by a fallacy of argument, what his judgment (of which he appears not to be deficient) must, *in foro conscientiæ* condemn—But however the world may disapprove his observations, he is happy in thinking that they are not only “ important ” but “ just ; ” so that he pre-condemns any opinion varying from his own.

In polemical sentiments, of every nature, the passions of mankind lead to an arrangement on

B

one

one side or the other—Excluding interest, or illusion, our opinion will naturally tend to what is equitable.

It is not my design to follow the author, paragraph by paragraph ; but to elucidate, to the extent of my ability, not only how extremely erroneous, but of what pernicious tendency his observations are.

His first endeavour is, to define the nature of liberty in general—physical, moral, religious, and civil. As the latter only is the point in question, and as he is not desirous to prove that the Americans are deprived of the three first, which he might do with an equal degree of probability, we shall confine our remarks solely to the latter.

The bulk of the people in America, little initiated into the cabinet of their leaders, full of imaginary ideas of promised liberty—yet were the veil that blinds them but once cleared from the cloud that obscures their better judgments, they would, sensible of their past infatuation, soon close the sanguinary scene of destructive rebellion.

Let

Let us allow that all “ civil free government originated from the people ; that they are the source and the end.”—Put it to the proof—Give the helm into the hands of so many unskilful pilots—The vessel would deviate from its course, and soon be a-ground. Government certainly sprung from necessity—General convenience was its object—and will still be its supporter. “ Civil
 “ liberty (when I mention the word Liberty, I
 “ mean regulated freedom, not an anarchy of
 “ acting agreeably to passion) can, according
 “ to Mr. P. be only enjoyed in its greatest de-
 “ gree in small states, where every member is
 “ capable of giving his suffrage in person, and
 “ being chosen into public offices.” Let a community be ever so small, it must consist of different ranks of men ; what riot and disorder must be the natural result, when the important offices in that state may be occupied by the meanest, uninstructed individuals. What corruption, and sometimes what a scene of blood arose in the *Campus Martius* at Rome, when the candidates appeared, and the whole collective body of the people were the voters ! Merit was sure to be neglected, while vice, by its popular, dangerous donations, received the plaudit and concurrence of the people.

It is universally acknowledged, that where the nation is represented by its own free choice, the determination of the majority of those representatives is the *vox populi*. Mr. P. proceeds to give us an idea of a government, the child of his own fancy, the very existence of which is inconsistent with human nature. With respect to the house of commons, have they not been celebrated for the jealousy of their rights, the equity of their laws, and the justness of their decisions ?

“ As the people have more or less share in government, and of a controuling power over the persons by whom it is administred—so it is complete, &c.” Yet Mr. P. complains that these very people, that he thinks requisite to have so much power, are corrupted ; and their representatives, corruptors. If we were to deal in fiction, let us suppose, for a moment, that the heart of every man was open to each inspector, that no passion of fear, interest, &c. &c. could enter, but was immediately visible—what magistrates, what legislators could we not chuse—yet they would not be free from censure.

In one place Mr. P. thinks that the suffrages of a turbulent meeting of the people is the only
true

true state of civil liberty. In another he complains, that the majority of the house are elected by a handful of the meanest of the people : at one period he is anxious that the lowest of the people should possess the most important offices ; in the next, he accuses them of being biassed by bribery in their choice. Surely if they are capable of undertaking an office of any consequence, they may be allowed able to chuse a representative. Thus he passes sentence both on the people, and their members. “ To be free is to
 “ be guided by one’s own will.” Certainly ; but when, for a variety of reasons, we give up a small portion to ensure the rest, can this be styled a servitude ? No ; it is by our own frank gift ; and without it, adieu to all the advantages of society. Mr. P. allows that the form of our constitution is excellent—then why raise fancied evils that have no existence ? What should degrade it ? Every Briton must be proud of it ! Do we not hourly feel its glorious effects ?

“ Government, says Mr. P. is an institution
 “ for the benefit of the people governed, which
 “ they have power to model as they please.—”
 If this was fact, what anarchy and innovation must not be its consequence, if from every
 whim

whim of a frantic multitude, the fabric must be subverted !—Government is clearly, as before remarked, derived from necessity, and the same cause will maintain it. It is popular to say, it originated from the people.

Few are the instances of licentiousness in the higher orders of a state ; their knowledge and experience will dictate to them its pernicious consequences. The vulgar think that their liberty is infringed, if they receive the least curb of legal restriction : unrestrained by morality, a lawless conduct, unchecked, is the only idea they possess of liberty. Despotism is indeed a branch of the same tree ; for if designing individuals, aided by the fury of popular clamour, confound all distinction, and destroy the springs that moved the wheels of government, it will ever terminate in the despotism of the most artful.

The power of parliament is certainly delegated ; the limitation of their time of sitting, the check from the other powers, their own incapability of acting without the concurrence of his Majesty and the house of lords, is too evident to assert any omnipotency in either them, or their
electors,

electors, the people. One cannot but smile when we hear of the omnipotence of an illiterate multitude. We should be indeed gloriously governed, if they were to be our rulers ! I cannot conceive how it is possible (even by those who strive by every popular art to insinuate themselves into the good graces of the people) to stile them omnipotent. Is their omnipotence in respect to the formation of the laws ?—Are there no other powers to acquiesce in them ? Is it with respect to force ? Their numbers are great, but easily dispersed by disciplined troops. Is it with respect to judgment ?—I am afraid that is not with them, entirely omnipotent.

Freedom, and all its inestimable advantages, cannot be too much cherished ; but every true lover of his country will not, by a sophistry of reasoning, inflame the minds of his fellow-citizens, by endeavouring to instil that the administration of his country is in dangerous hands. When no interested consideration prompts, it ought to be an universal attempt to prop the pillars of that government by which alone our country flourishes and our domestic felicity is ensured. What anarchy must attend the sub-
version

version of government ! I am confident it will be replied, that their intention does not tend to so destructive an end : they only are desirous to change the measures that are pursued by the present ministry, and put the helm into abler hands. Allow me a homely simile—Government is but an intricate superstructure. Suppose we are continually sapping the foundation, in raising new supporters—the new ones are unable to prop the pile, and the old ones so weakened as to totter under its weight.

I shall pass over many of Mr. P.'s observations, the pernicious tendency of which are too obvious to be commented. He insinuates, by false deductions, very different conclusions from those candor would dictate.

Many of his remarks, that he establishes as facts, I believe, are very open to refutation. He affirms that liberty is the only soil where the arts and sciences flourish. Let us, for a moment allow it. At what period were they ever so celebrated as the present ? yet we are, agreeable to his observations, deprived of all our glorious rights—and in a state of actual slavery. But he errs in his proposition, though he may
quote

quote the page of Longinus, Addison, &c, &c. yet fact, stubborn fact, will refute them. In what age of the Roman empire, were the arts and sciences at their zenith? In the reign of Augustus. France and Italy, whose government is entirely absolute, have they not risen almost to the highest pitch? Had he remarked, that commerce only can flourish in a free state, his assertion had been, indeed, true. Absolute dominions, from their very nature, cannot extend their commerce. Here is another proof of the freedom we enjoy. Does not trade flourish, and even encrease, in all our ports?

I believe that sentiments of genuine freedom, untainted by ostentation, never stamped the genius of any period of history more remarkably than the present. “ Many sycophants of power have been sacrificed,”—but surely it is more consonant to humanity, more glorious for the nation, that no such, of any importance, exist. While the minister possesses public and private virtues, the channel by which the current of royal favour flows, cannot be sullied. While we have a gracious King, whose actions are as untainted as his heart: while he is so cautious in the choice of those entrusted with

the administration of public affairs, we can fear no event, that should place the subject in a parallel situation, to contend in the same cause that raised the public arm against Charles the First, or the unhappy James : and that such a period may never again be read in British history, must be the prayer of every honest mind.

The page of history will point various examples of the subordination of one community to another, where the distance, the vicissitude, and uncertainty of the element, the representatives must go through, supply us with a striking observation of its impracticability. What an advantage might not Mr. P. affect, if he could explore, in any quarter of the world, two horses, like Pegafus, where his favourite Americans might, in the space of a few days, not only convey their representatives, but by the means of the same rapid flight, send continually their instructions. If a state receives all the advantages that law, protection, and assistance of another can afford, surely she ought to acknowledge herself indebted in the most grateful manner, independent of all natural subordination. If we allow the Americans to be in the state of slavery that Mr. P. paints them, we must divest his
Majesty,

Majesty, and both houses of parliament, of every principle of humanity. We must ourselves be in the same slavish condition ; as the same laws, the same legislators, that govern them, rule us. The interest of Britain and her colonies must be invariably the same ; are they not a part of the politic body ? Is not the safety of every part of importance to the whole ?

It is strange, that England, ever celebrated for her zeal in the cause of freedom, should become all despots ; that the country, whose very soil is repugnant to it, who would never suffer a tyrant, should have the seeds in every one of its constituents. Again, every government requires a degree of parade ; a military establishment has been esteemed requisite in the most popular ones.

In America, the assembly chosen by the people, a council elected by that assembly, and a governor appointed by the sovereign state, and a variety of different offices for the impartial distribution of justice, denote a freedom of constitution—not a state of servitude. The very existence of a superior legislature is still strongly in their favour. If the governor acts in a tyrannic manner,

manner, there lies an appeal against him, to those from whom they are certain of redress. Thus circumstanced, no governor dares to deviate from his duty.

The colonies are governed by the laws of England : if the assemblies were to form their own, and submit as their inclination prompted, to one or the other—what a scene of confusion !

Permit me to remark, that fear, that flattery, that the hope of preferment may tempt many to protect a despot, but it will be found very rare, that a whole nation would unite to oppress a dependent one, who, if they were not actuated by ambitious infatuation, would require no more military than was requisite to retain impatient spirits in a sense of their allegiance. Impossible suppositions, chimeras, as they can only please for the moment, without any importance, and shew the fertility of the writer's invention, are passed over in silence, to moulder into insignificancy.

“ Are there not causes by which one state
 “ may acquire a rightful authority over another,
 “ though not consolidated by an adequate re-
 “ pre-

“ presentation ?” I answer, there are such causes.—The right of conquest, though it is to be considered as the least permanent, while the same power does not restrain it under subjection, that first gave a title to it, yet, to deduce good from evil, if it can be so stiled—the Roman empire (for many of their conquests were subsequent to the republican form of government) though they usurped dominion over whole kingdoms, yet the arts of knowledge and politeness first dawned under their successful invasions—A just war cannot be indemnified,—in the way of reimbursement, I allow it may ; but what can compensate for the loss of the many lives sacrificed in the contest. Security against any future injury in an hostile state, can consist only in the want of power to exert their not-extinguished resentment.

Compact may and ought to be binding.—If a state is in imminent danger of being reduced to the subjection of another power, and she makes cessions to a state equally, or more powerful than her invader, to protect and support her—Surely if she is saved by the guardian wing, it ought never to be effaced from the memory of posterity, to whom they owe their very existence.

“ Obli-

“ Obligation conferred, in the mind of a
 “ generous people, is indeed a powerful tie.”
 Compact, in many instances, is the effect of
 obligation. Liberty is an inestimable blessing—
 but how can a subordination to a state, jealous
 of her freedom, be entitled servitude. Are
 taxes levied? Are there imposts? Do not the
 Americans receive an adequate return? One
 would suppose, they wanted no duties, no
 taxes; yet they imagine, they have a right to
 be protected, and that the English are to be
 taxed to pay the expence of their support. It
 would have been fortunate for us, if we had
 possessed no territory in America; our debts
 would not have been so large, nor our taxes so
 burdened.

Different communities forming an empire,
 ought to have mutual interests. It is by their
 union, that they are powerful and respected.
 If every community is governed within itself,
 not subordinate to one great legislature, they
 would all be soon divided. Ambition in every
 one of them would lead some artful individual
 to place himself at the head; and opposition,
 that sprung from a mistaken sense of liberty,
 would

would end in despotism. If an empire, and at best it can only be nominal, be not taxed by one great legislative body, but are ruled by an internal legislation, they would soon be entirely their own masters; and where a state, as well as a man, knows he has committed an injury, it is too frequent they become irreconcilable enemies. Can the despotic authority of a Grand Signor be compared to the free lenient power of a British parliament. If the parent state is free, the independent ones, if governed by the same laws, must enjoy the same liberty. The example of Rome is not just—Rome itself was governed in the most democratic manner, while all her provinces were governed by military force. When Rome, the darling nurse of art and science, became the fatal prey to a tyrant, yet to him we are indebted for the Augustan age; it freed the world from civilized masters, to become the slaves to the bolder invader, and rude unpolished barbarians. The light of reason and refinement that Roman manners had spread over the conquered world, was soon obscured by monkish superstition, and the forfeiture of all that might have enlightened their unadorned and ill-instructed minds.

P A R T II.

I Am extremely apprehensive, that Mr. P— will find the more rational part of mankind differ from him in their manner of thinking with respect to America—for this, “ he is inclined to make great allowances.”

I should be happy to learn who are so stupid as to imagine, the colonies hold their existence only for our use. If they deem themselves amenable to the laws of this country, all that are promulged here bind them. Ignorant must Mr. P— imagine those to be, if there are any, of the least degree of common understanding, who are unacquainted of what colour they are, and what language they speak, when they daily crowd over. The common people mingle with ours; the genteeler with those of their own rank. Every friend to the honour of his country, must wish that this rebellion may close, and the veil that obscures their better genius, be thrown aside.

If

If precedents, statutes, charters, are of no estimation, adieu, at once to all order. If any controversies arise, to what can we have recourse, but to them? These precedents, statutes, charters, have been formed at different periods, during a series of above 200 years. The measures of government have been, in the vast succession of ministers, for so long a space, with respect to America, invariably the same. Has reason and equity been so great strangers to the English constitution, as to establish laws, to approve of them for almost two centuries, which Mr. P— now finds out to be arbitrary, illegal, and in opposition to the dictates of humanity.

In the occurrences of private life, reason and justice ought to be the standard of our conduct; the criterion by which we judge of others; in maxims of state policy they are one of its most essential properties, nor will ever true policy be found to deviate from them—But if I am injured, if I am deprived of my rights, every law of nature, moral as well as civil, will prompt me to be established in those claims that I am unjustly bereaved of. Let us, for a moment, examine, who are the patrons to Ame-

rica, who are the uniform opposers to government: they consist of two ranks; those disaffected, disappointed in their pursuit after lucrative employs: the other, I am even sorry to imagine it, are the Dissenters; but as this has been discussed in the "Remarks on the different opinions relative to the American colonies." I shall here drop it.

That no parallel instance of rebellion may ever deface the annals of history; that it may conclude with honour to England; that the Americans, sensible of their infatuation, may wake from their dreams. Cruel must that disposition be, who after rising to manhood, by the protecting wing of an indulgent guardian, wishes to plunge a dagger in his breast. If he can only preserve his being, and act his duty to posterity, by the defence of himself, and the punishment of his execrable enemy, he must be void of all the feelings of humanity, if he does not exert his utmost force.

Mr. P. divides his inquiry into the following sections.

1. In respect of justice.
 2. The principles of the constitution.
 3. In respect of policy and humanity.
 4. The honour of the kingdom.
- And lastly, The probability of succeeding in it.

S E C T. I.

Of the justice of the war with America.

THE hostilities with America must be acknowledged (except by those either deaf to reason, or disaffected to government) to be founded on justice and policy. What pen, without a great portion of self-sufficiency, let its penetration be ever so sagacious, dare censure the acts of parliament; acts, that experience has stamped as just, and observation marked, as the effect of reason. If we are deprived of the right to tax America, what power have we over our colonies? There is an immense difference between a right to that part of the possessions in America, that is requisite to support their own government, and a title to the whole.—Does the privilege of taxation in England, imply a right to our

possessions? Politics and religion, in our enlightened age, are widely distinct; supremacy is a claim entirely obliterated: yet it is very extraordinary, that those, who vary from the established faith, and live under the lenient influence of administration, are ever first to canvass its measures, and disapprove its regulations. The mild, the indulgent hand of a British parliament would require but a small restriction, to continue her subject provinces in a sense of allegiance. Were they simply conscious of their own advantage, peace and concord would spread her all beneficial dominion over every part of the united empire. If the baneful ascendancy of some disorder, poisonous to the whole frame, becomes predominant, and the force of gentler medicines fail, we must find some more violent expedient to suppress its destructive emanations.

“ The superiority of the British state,” arises not “ from wealth” or the “ number of our people—knowledge or virtue.” We are infinitely obliged to Mr. P— for placing the philosophers of America, on an equality with our own. America may produce a Cromwell, and I scruple not to assert, however ineffectual his de-

designs may be) that there is one in embryo, but they will never, I dare assert, rival a Newton, a Milton, or a Pope. The pretended ignorance of Mr. P—, with respect to the real foundation of our authority over America, is too glaring not to be observed, even by the most superficial eye. He forms questions, that were never stated, and gives solutions to what will not admit of a negative. One interrogation is so much beyond the line of probability, that scarce merits a reply—"The English came from Germany, Does that give the German states a right to tax us?" What inference can be extracted with respect to America? Were the English emigrated, supported, and fostered by the Germans? They came over in shoals, deluged from the overflowing multitudes of the north, and the poverty of their own country. Can the insolence of barbarians, in their inundations, be compared to the generous support that we have afforded America, descended from the same ancestors, and subject by every tie, to the same legislature?

Sentiments on religious and political subjects can have no affinity—Unity of a state forms its strength

strength; and unless the different parts of the body politic are governed by the same legislature, it will branch out in a variety of interests, and enfeeble the whole. In religion, experience has taught us, that many sects may exist in a state, and unite in the general cause. In the British dominions, all sectaries own their allegiance, though the Dissenters are the general opposers of government.

Mr. P. imagines, that the augmentatation to our national debt, caused in our protection of the Americans, amply repaid—that we did it, on our own account. (In one circumstance it was, we then considered the Americans, as they now actually are, our subjects, we could not penetrate into the *anguis in herba*). But if some præscient being could have whispered the grateful return, administration must indeed have been deprived of all sense, if it had not left them to become the prey of a despotic master. They then might have proved good subjects, and like some animals, the more they receive discipline, the better they behave, and even at least seem to love you the more—" They had
 " an

“ an exclusive trade with us,” gracious God the mighty obligation.

They condescended to trade with us—Are not the advantages of commerce mutual? If they had no interest from it, how have they rose from turbulent Oliverians to the flourishing enlightened state Mr. P— describes them. “ They fought “ by our side,” all great and galant! While we were engaged in their defence, they graciously lend their arm in the same field of battle.—“ As “ freemen, they have never discovered any reluctance in giving;” that is, *in futuro*, if left to their option; they may perhaps sometimes deign to assist, if they imagine they can reap any benefit from it—“ But in obedience to “ a demand, and with bayonets at their breasts, “ they will give us nothing but blood.”—Who demands? Can the acts of parliament be filed demands? Who placed the bayonets at their breast? their own seditious principles.—The words of Pet. Arb. are very applicable to the Americans, *Vera redit facies, dissimulata perit*. The mask is thrown away, and the principles of the first settlers are but too evident. I imagine, the next maxims that are taught, will be the subordination

dination of England to America—it will be urged, “ that as the genius of liberty has fled
 “ from her once favourite shore, and deigned
 “ to fix her residence on the continent of Ame-
 “ rica, a nation, whose people, uninstructed
 “ in artifice, unallured by the bait of pleasure,
 “ untaught in the refinements of voluptuousness,
 “ content with a simple mode of living, where
 “ freedom seated her throne, requires no taxes,
 “ no duties are requested, no regulations, no
 “ police requisite—Harmony reigns without
 “ them, and the public treasury is ever over-
 “ flowing by the frank donations of a free peo-
 “ ple. Where can we better hope for the resto-
 “ ration of the all-admired, the glorious con-
 “ stitution we inherited, though like a prodigal
 “ we have squandered it, but from the ad-
 “ ministration of such a people. The golden
 “ age would be restored, and America rival
 “ Rome in its most flourishing period.”

It has been established by the consent of all nations, that the first finders have a right to the country—Sailing along a coast, in possession of another, gives no privilege to it—I allow, that property so established, is founded solely by
 universal

universal assent ; and like many things, it is the only rule we can judge by. The assent to it for so long a space, proves at least its utility—it prevents confusion, and whatever is the cause of that, must be just.

What privileges do not the Americans enjoy, equally with the rest of (except the single one of representation) British subjects ? It appears to me reduced to this simple proposition—that they and their friends in England want us to bear the whole burden ; and on a request of their participating in it, it is replied, that if you will not act as we judge proper, the sword shall decide—A few ambitious men there keep up their prejudices, and inflame their minds, while their friends here are trying every expedient to irritate the minds of the people ; but to their praise, be it said, without the least prospect of success.

Mr. P. lays no stress on charters—They are not of a nature to be regarded—Yet when there is a possibility of extracting the least pretension to favour the Americans, he would find that charter to be of weight. If charters are not

E efficient,

efficient, what human power is to be sacred, unless experience should teach, that any one, though formed by the necessity of the times, should afterwards prove prejudicial. In the name of God, let it be repealed. But are the most inviolable bonds that guard society, to be recalled, because sedition asks it? I had sooner dwell in a land of slaves, than in a country, where the tumultuous cry of a few madman can overturn the most salutary institutions. An infant nation, emigrated from a powerful one, may stipulate conditions on the promise of support and protection—Nature dictates it. Those conditions ought to bind posterity, if they recollected, that they would have had no existence, or at least a poor one, had not their progenitors wisely granted some things, to ensure grandeur to their posterity—but nature never would stipulate; nature would never ask, to expose a human being to the excursions of wolves and tygers—What similitude can it bear?

How is the representation of this country defective? Parliament represents us; the voluntary election of a whole people.—The world has been lavish in its encomiums of the excellence

lence of our government. It is the wisest, and the most equitable that ever existed! Yet Mr. P. thinks America is contending for a better—Skilful nation! to explore what ages have strove in vain for, and what ages have applauded.—Luxury and vice have been the theme of every writer in every age; the same complaints that exist now, formed the page of the censor for centuries past.—Happy country, that when England sinks, she may fly to you, and in your bosom pour the last retreat from slavery at home. What a state! How ought it to exult, when Mr. P. predicts, that Astræa will make it her last residence on earth.

The question is, whether America is part of the British constitution? If not, we have no right to taxation: but if America owns itself our subject—taxation is the only proof of its subordination. For that we contend; there can be no medium; America either is, or is not part of the British empire—It admits of no palliation. When any small state in an empire is obnoxious to the whole, it is requisite for the well-being of all, that they should feel for their ill-actions equally with a criminal indivi-

dual, who, if he escaped punishment, would tend to the subversion of all civil order.

The magic on which Mr. P. founds the whole force of his argument, is torturing a few plain words into a sense they cannot admit of—"the right of taxation," he styles a disposal of their property. In England, though Parliament has undoubtedly a right to tax, yet no privilege to dispose of property. The exigencies of the state require some portion, yet that implies no claim on the whole—"To be
 " subject to the laws and privileges of the parent
 " state, he calls a power to model as it pleases." If they had the government of our colonies under their own formation, I wonder what arrangement they would pursue—I am inclined to think exact the reverse of freedom. Mr. P. will say, How can any one surmise so ridiculous a supposition? Do they not now battle in the cause of liberty? I deny it—I believe it the last thing that entered into the brain of their present leaders.

Certainly our claim to the colonies, is unalienable. At present, Mr. P. says, "they
 " are

“ are about half our number ; but in fifty or
 “ sixty years, they will double our number”—
 so in proportion, in the space of one hundred
 and fifty years, we shall scarce be a handful,
 to so numerous, so great an empire, equally
 celebrated for their advancement in all the arts
 of life, as rapid in the increase of their pro-
 geny. Mr. P. may hold in derision “ this
 “ handful of people on the other side the At-
 “ lantic,” yet be it the wreath that crowns
 every Briton, that wherever fortune may lead
 him, he is proud of his native country, nor
 would change it for this mighty America, this
 darling of Mr. P.

If we were to allow, that philosophy, and
 the muses of America, rivaled our most cele-
 brated, we should boast, that a people emi-
 grated from us, had retained those talents for
 which our isle has ever been renowned—but
 alas ! the blush must now overspread the face
 of every Englishman, if ever the Americans are
 mentioned in his presence by a stranger !

The dreadful painting of Mr. P. of the
 time that may come, when liberty and virtue
 will

will take their final adieu. That time will come when the earth will be no more. If the piercing præscience of Mr. P. can divine such a period, let him not keep it solely to himself, but acquaint us all with the important æra, that we may fly to his asylum of arts, knowledge, and freedom. When such a description is realized, let his beloved America then exert her power—the contest would be as great and meritorious, as it is now shameful and seditious.

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis

Et dici potuisse & non potuisse rebelli.—OVID.

When the government of Britain is once plunged into that abyss of ignominy ; when the free spirit that now prevails, is mouldered into ruin ; her colonies might then with justice strive to preserve themselves from the same fate : but while the administration here is equitable ; while law, justice, policy, and reason, hold the reins of government, nothing but sedition, and the worst of principles, could prompt the Americans to so destructive a rebellion. Let us not torture our imaginations at the view of so gloomy a scene ; and if ever a thought arises, that tends

to

to such an improbable one, dispel them with a petition to the divine Being, to ward off for ever the hour that deprives us of all that is valuable in life.

If the House of Commons is capable of sacrificing to regal power, the jurisdiction intrusted to her of the colonies, she will not long persevere in the preservation of our own; but thanks to the genius that presides there, the rights of the people, their own privileges, are as cautiously guarded, as the sincerest lover of his country can request—While our gracious sovereign aims at no subversion of any popular rights, while he arrogates no unconstitutional powers, we need not alarm the minds of the multitude, too easily imposed on.—If we were to grant them the extent of their present, at least, their seeming-wish, and they were to establish a democratic system, how long would it exist? Experience, to make use of the words of the historian, would teach them, that real liberty consists in a due obedience on laws and government. The Athenians, A. M. 3380, sensible of the error in their government, were desirous of establishing a legislator, but for a fear of pro-

proceeding too far, there arose, what will always happen, in cases where either the subject rebels against the actual government, or where there is no regular one, different factions. At Athens, Megacles, Pisistratus, and Lycurgus, were the three heads : the first, powerful by his wealth ; the second, (as the author of the history of Greece remarks) by the mildness of his behaviour, his affability, and his great liberality towards the poorer citizens, had acquired the highest popularity ; but his winning behaviour was no more than an artful cover to the most ambitious designs. Thus would America have been situated, had administration at home not curbed a rebellion, that would have closed in the tyranny of some American Pisistratus—who, by popular protestations, by large donations, would have ingratiated himself, and blinded them, till they could resist. Tully justly observes, *consuetudinem benignitatis largitioni longe antepono, hac est gravium hominum atque magnorum—Illi quasi assentatorum populi, multitudinis levitatem voluptati quasi titillantrum.*

The words, “ freemen and slave,” are magic to the brain—The idea of being deprived
of

of being deprived of our liberty, banishes every other consideration; the abhorrence to slavery is so great, that we run away with the idea, without reflecting, how distant, how improbable it is, that we can ever be entangled in the detested chains. Incendiaries in general are convinced of it; the word alone will aid their designs; while the cool empaffioned reader fees through the veil, that is almost pervious to the flightest view. The very act of toleration will be censured by every sect, precluding their own. The birth to the productions of authors, disaffected to their country, is another testimony of the freedom we possess. Was parliament but a fet of tools; were the officers of state venal; were the ministers but the instrument of an arbitrary tyrant; were the people abforbed, and plunged into luxury and voluptuousness, fuch books would not be suffered to appear—but our glorious constitution permits the freedom of the prefs; by it, our poffeffions are safe, the liberty of our thoughts may be frankly discussed, and even the rebellion of America finds its supporters against the admirable system of our government, against those laws, revered by

all Europe, and which prove an impregnable rampart to the encroachment of regal power.

S E C T. III.

Whether the war with America is justified by the principles of the constitution.

TO extend our ideas beyond the preservation the colonies, it is evident, that almost the tranquility of the whole empire depends on our exertion in this rebellion—Had we tamely stooped to the daring spirit of the Americans; had we suffered our constitution to have been infringed—what an instance of pusillanimity had we discovered to all Europe! What an example to all our subjects—Rebellion might have reared her head in every quarter of the world. The stress Mr. P. lays, that if we have the power of taxation, though he expresses in other words, it implies a right to deliver them to the Grand Seigneur. It would not have been great loss to us, if we had never had such turbulent subjects—'Tis the second civil war, their seditious

tenets

tenets have been the cause of, κακῆ κἀραχῆ κακὸν ὄν.

“ Suppose the colonies of France or Spain
 “ had enjoyed, by compacts, for near a century
 “ and a half, free government, &c.” Why
 travel in the land of suppositions, when we
 cannot be ignorant, that either France or Spain
 would not suffer any of her colonies to enjoy a
 liberty, that their governments will not admit
 of. I will venture to affirm, from the natural
 dispositions of our colonies, that if Parliament
 had repealed the acts, obnoxious to them, they
 would have found some ground of quarrel, if
 we had not acquiesced in all their factious de-
 mands. The seed was too deeply rooted, not
 to have sprung up. It has been long bursting
 for a vent.

The people, that is, their representatives,
 have the sole disposal of their own money. The
 Americans, for various causes, have no repre-
 sentatives, and relying as they do, on the
 justice of Parliament, they would find no founda-
 tion for disapproving measures evidently
 adapted for the benefit of the whole, had they

not been predetermined on opposition. I would ask one question, Are the Americans taxed in an adequate manner to the expence of their government? Mr. P. describes them as numerous and powerful—Are their duties proportionate to so flourishing a state? The causes of the unhappy struggle in Charles I. I shall pass over. However beneficial its consequences have been, we should be grateful for what we enjoy, and not call to recollection, a period so full of horror.

A war, thus undertaken in the support of our constitution, whose very being is connected with it, ought to be promoted, and carried on with united vigor on our side, till rebellion is convinced, that her erroneous destructive principles have been the detested cause of the profusion of so much blood, that years of allegiance can alone atone for. But as compulsion can solely restrain them in a sense of duty, a military force will be impelled to retain them in it—Cruel alternative! either to give up a country, fostered and protected by an immense expence, or by the sword, to decide whose subjects they are. It is dangerous to enfeeble government by
specu-

speculations, how much more laudable to conceal from an unthinking multitude, the source of government—the obedience due to authority ought never to be canvassed by the people, who, when they find themselves essentially injured by their rulers, will always invent expedients to remove them—Deprive government of that reverence that it claims from people of all ranks, you withdraw its chief pillar. If America was disunited from us, what a variety of plans would wander among them, till the most artful could seat himself on the throne. One great source of evil, and which adds fuel to the rebellion, is the number of petitions that were presented to the throne in favour of the Americans. In the commencement of the reign of Charles the Second, an act passed, that no more than twenty were to sign their names to any petition, but with the ratification of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury: the fine on a trespass was 100*l.* and three months imprisonment.

S E C T. III.

Of the policy of the war with America.

I have somewhere before observed, that I imagined the tranquility of the whole empire depended on the vigorous exertion of the war against the rebellious colonies. The whole subject has been so ably discussed, that, I am confident, I should not have been presumptuous enough to have delivered my opinion on it, after so able a pen, as the dean of Gloucester, had not the pernicious tendency of the pamphlet now under disquisition, called for a reply.

The cause of the war was an attempt in the Americans of retiring from the subordinacy to the parent state. We must either have acknowledged, that we had, till then, enjoyed only a usurped authority, or pursued the only political one, that of resistance. Established custom, that foundation of all law, the concurrence of above a century; the acknowledgement of the first settlers; the advantages derived, all co-operated

operated to entitle us to the legislative power over the Americans. The object of war is clearly that of public interest—It cannot be for its own sake, “ Extension of dominion,” as Mr. P. terms it. How can ambition prompt us, when America is part of the empire? If there was to be an insurrection in Scotland, and our ministry sent an army to quell it, I suppose Mr. P. would deem it, “ the lust of power, and a “ desire to extend our dominions.” The one case is equally applicable as the other:

“ All government, even *within* a state, becomes tyrannical, as far as it is a needless and “ wanton exercise of power; or is carried “ further than is absolutely necessary to preserve “ the peace, and to secure the safety of the state.” I believe all mankind will assent with Mr. P. but he here, for once, is a friend to the present measures; the preservation of peace; the safety of the state depends on the hostilities with our colonies. The very life of government is its object, and the least relaxation would merit the severest censure; and all the opprobrious epithets of Mr. P. would then be justly placed. In all distant subordinate provinces, if the government
of

of the chief state is so enervated as to pass unnoticed every improper act of their provinces, in a few years their dependance would be effaced from their minds, and a just contempt for their feeble rulers would instigate them to shake off allegiance to so pusillanimous a power. To discover a timidity is to betray a fear that we err, that we are dubious if we really possess any authority over them. The ministry, convinced of the truth of this remark, would have blushed to have submitted to the American rod, and to have sacrificed the policy and honour of the nation to the clamour of a feeble minority. Gracious God! If the opposition had been in power, and had pursued submissive measures, and bowed the neck to our colonies—what dishonour had not been reflected! what disgrace had not stained the present period! To have concealed our authority, had been a tacit confession, that we were sensible of an error—What a triumph to all our foes. But when we are possessed of power; when unanimity at home adds an additional lustre to our arms, why sheath the sword, and become the scorn of Europe? Who, that bears any affection to his country, could suffer her power to be called in question,

question, for having tamely submitted to her rebellious colonies.

All the artful painting of Mr. P. if it had been drawn from truth or reason, would have been lively ; but while he strives to inflame the imagination, and loses sight of that lenient softness of argument, that embellishes every friend to his country, or patron to humanity ; it awakes compassion, as well as resentment ; when talents, that might promote unity and peace, emulate the incendiary, and add new fuel to a flame, that he seems but too eager of its blazing ; the fumes of self-applause may indulge his own conceit, but the plaudit of the patriot will never adorn him.

And now, praise be to the animation of the ministry, the period is approaching, when America will be taught, that her riotous seditions will not pass unpunished, and from that period will a sense of their own interest, a recollection of the past prospect, rouse them from their factious frenzy. If the genuine thoughts of every Briton were discovered, an approbation, which envy or interest can alone

exclude, would await the present administration.

Secondly, The contest, as Mr. P. describes, after the ruin of the Americans, can yield no advantage to us. Rather let their towns be desolated, than the name of every Briton sullied; rather let them be severely punished, than an acknowledgement of inferiority, or confession of error, should give these proud colonists such a cause of triumph; rather let them be impoverished, than when, if we had submitted to have suffered their arrogance to have rose to a higher pitch, and denounced war against us. Rebellion, if successful, never knows its limits—Many, whose restless spirits would have been cooled by order, will arise, and in the scene of confusion, still augment it, in the flattering expectation, that it may be the source of their own grandeur. Can the actions of a just people, be compared to the frantic ambition of an Alexander, or a Cæsar? They had no cause of resentment; they depopulated, and laid waste states, over whom they had no power; we only are engaged in hostilities, in the defence of our own authority. Illiberal comparison! Wretched state
in-

indeed! whose only joy is the desolation of mankind, and the ambition of conquest.

“ Blind resentment, and the desire of revenge, “ are infernal principles”—true; but to apply such terms to the present administration, argues, what I am sorry any Briton should be styled. When the nation has been injured, insulted, and her legislature contemned, to pour conviction by hostilities, that they have themselves compelled; these ever admirable measures meet with names a Russian can but merit. That people declaim against the colonies is not amazing; but how a native of Great-Britain can be a friend to rebels, and a foe to the government of his own country, is truly astonishing. What we have done has been simply the effect of obligation, reduced to a miserable alternative, either to sacrifice ourselves, and punish rebellious subjects. Could administration hesitate, it could admit of no doubt—Administration, conscious of the firm basis on which it acts, is as much superior to the trifling invectives of a Mr. P. as its conduct is so un sullied, as scarcely to permit the scrutiny of envy to discover any real blemish. The Americans have not dared to traverse the

ocean, and défolate our country—Generous nation!—But “we have transported ourselves to “their peaceful retreats—we have carried war “and defolation,” If subjects become rebels; if that fiend, ambition, pride, and wantonness of power, raise the arm of justice against them, where are they to examine for the cause of evil?—In themselves. “We expected,” says Mr. P. “to find them a cowardly rabble”—They must have hitherto acted with extreme magnanimity, to have given us cause for such a supposition. The truth is, the levity of the Americans, tired with the lenient administration of a British parliament, are eager to experience the change of a free government, to a despot of their own.--Allow an impossibility--The British troops retired from their continent, their own Oliver on the throne, in a few months, they would supplicate our assistance to free them from the yoke. Again, their country would be a scene of blood—What a prospect! How much more would it tend to their advantage; how much would they convince the world of their candour, if they were to acknowledge their deception, and close this sanguinary rebellion? The best and wisest may be deceived; but to persist in it,

stamps

stamps an obstinate arrogance of mind. To the American, no interest can spring from a continuance of war. At the conclusion of it, it will require a series of years and industry, to reinstate them. Learning, that began to dawn, will still be longer, before it recovers from the confusion their present miserable principles have involved it in. The arts of refinement, that delight in tranquility, will be almost entirely banished, and not resume her seat, till the olive branch has enlightened the night, that these hostilities have been the source of. Perish the incendiaries of such destruction ! blasted be the instigators of such cruelty, that they may prove the scorn and derision of their fellow citizens, and the torment of their own hearts ! Pity it is, that Mr. P. was not at the head of public affairs, at the commencement of this rebellion : his fertility of invention would have saved the honour of the nation, and would have continued the Americans in their allegiance.

From the first establishment of the colonies, the disposition of the settlers prompted many to think, that their restlessness would not suffer them to remain any longer in their allegiance,
than

than they required the assistance of the state that protected them. If the taxes are greater on America at present, than half century ago, their riches, their trade, are augmented in the same proportion. Who can imagine, that the different stages of a state, as they rise to opulence, are not more able to support heavier burdens. Mr. P. runs on, with a rapid flow of words, to prove, that if we had borne every indignity, and receded from every act relative to the Americans, they would have remained our subjects. That this should be the style of an American, a friend to their generals, would not be amazing. No expedient, however disgraceful, would, I am confident, have soothed the Americans. Had we crouched under every insult, Mr. P. thinks we might then have, in a course of time, gradually overcome their factious principles. The importation of tea was seized on, as an occasion to alarm the minds of the people. The bait succeeded, and regardless that they were destroying the property of strangers, they wantonly buried it in the sea. Necessity would oblige the ruffian to plunder me ; but he would not, for the sake of injury to any one, despoil them. Here the property of a great company,

under

under the protection and concurrence of Parliament, cruelly perished ; because it was the whim of some factious Bostonians. Such circumstances as these, are not insults ! A compensation immediately made, in acknowledgement of its error, might have diminished the affront, but could scarcely have exculpated them. After our ministry had tried every expedient in vain to soften them ; every proposal was treated with contempt. If an angel had descended, and had strove to calm them by the most conciliatory measures, his plans would have received only derision or defiance. To such a people, the sword only could teach a sense of duty. At the commencement of hostilities, had our ministry conceived, that the colonists were resolved to carry every thing on with such an enthusiastic spirit of rebellion, they would have adopted measures, that ere this, would have tamed them ; but the very leniency of administration is an argument made use of as a evidence of the vast prowess of America.

What mind can look on the congress but with horror ? Who can think of their generals but with abhorrence of their intentions ? With the
eye

eye of compassion, we regard a devoted people, sacrificed either to the factious, the restless, or ambitious. In the preceeding reigns, the Americans were as yet in their infancy; no duties were laid, because we were convinced of their incapability of paying them; but now, opulent, why should they not assist that government, to whom they are indebted for their very existence? In former reigns, the Americans less powerful; less opulent, consequently more peaceable; conscious, that if they did not depend on the protection of the parent state, their inability of defending themselves, would soon have made them a prey to some more powerful kingdom, whose government, not being free, would have impelled them to have received their laws; they had not dared to have complained of real evils, under the iron rod of a French or Spanish dominion, much less have rose in actual rebellion for imaginary ones. At that period, while they so immediately felt the enlivening influence of our support, they esteemed our monarch as their own. We enjoyed a few privileges over them; they traded almost solely, except their contraband commerce, with us, if so, was it simply to our advantage? Are they not opulent?

From

From what has it arose? We then esteemed one another as fellow-citizens, subjects of the same empire. When they came here, they were regarded as the same people. But the scene is widely changed! increase of riches, a growing number of people, have inspired some with hope, that they might disunite the colonies from the parent state. The cry of freedom, that never-failing word, that incendiaries make as subservient to their designs, and which always sets the multitude in an uproar, inflamed some; while others, carried by the current, unintentionally aided the rebellion. Many, whose thoughts were peace, dare not venture to pronounce them, for moderation and humanity are ever neglected, and even endangered, in all popular disturbances. Mr. P's ideal plan, "of rejoicing to see a multitude of free states, branched forth from ourselves, all enjoying independent legislatures, similar to our own," is indeed but a vain chimera, it sounds prettily in words, but experience would soon evince, how impracticable it was. Divest mankind of ambition, pride, and all human failings, it might have been reduced to practice; but we must take the world as it goes, nor reflect on the

conduct of a minister, because he does not rule a golden age. His measures must be adapted to the manners and principles of the times. Affection has proved but a poor tie, to restrain the Americans—Interest would be not a iota more binding—Nothing but concessions from us, that would disallegiate them, would be of any effect. What infamy! The King that could permit it, and the minister that dared advise it, would merit the severest voice of censure. Had our concessions kept pace with their demands, on we should have went, till we had yielded every thing. Their power would have encreased, a variety of interests sprung up, and in a few years we might have seen these Americans in the field of battle against us. If at present, when they are actually under our government, they carry their virulence to such a pitch, what would they not strove to have affected, when disunited from the parent state? Mr. P. seems desirous, we should tread in their steps—Perish the thought! And may the time never come, when civil convulsions will lay waste our country, and the standard of rebellion reared in every quarter. Does the dignity of Great Britain depend on the humour of her colonies?

nies ? Because they are factious, are we all to be plunged into ruin ? Our glorious constitution, that gives us such inestimable rights, is to be in a state of perdition, because America chuses to rebel.

The felicity that dawned over them, before such violent principles subverted their harmony, and corrupted its very source, was very evident from the cause Mr. P. assigns, their population ; and had not the Bostonians, with their tendency to dissention, spread the baneful contagion, they would have remained in the same happy state.

The extreme humanity of the English constitution ; the principles of liberty, inherent in our very nature, would prove an impregnable rampart to our exercising the least degree of tyranny over America. If the principles of any man breathe a spirit of disaffection to his country, it is no difficult task to picture a fictitious prospect of impending ruin, to alarm the minds of the uninstructed multitude. But let the *amator patriæ* convince his fellow citizens, that the helm of government is in the ablest hands ; that the fame of his country was never more

vered by foreign nations, than at this period ;
 that commerce, arts, and science, flourish
 with more than meridian glory. That these
 valuable advantages are as much the consequent
 of those on whom depend the important affairs
 of this mighty empire, as the inimitable form of
 our constitution. At no period of the world,
 did there ever exist a nation so truly free. The
 democratical nature of the Grecian republics,
 instead of spreading liberty, was the cause of
 those revolutions, where cruelty triumphed in
 the most inhuman manner. But I deviate from
 my subject. Our hostilities with the colonies
 are founded on the basis of truly patriot policy ;
 the very safety, the happiness of even America
 depends on its event. Those writers, whose
 religion, whose tenets, delivered down from
 their ancestors, heightened by disappointment,
 or aggravated by disaffected patrons, will be
 clamorous against administration—But are such to
 be regarded ? Is the enthusiasm of a madman to
 be compared to the gentler voice of reason ? Is a
 part of the British empire to be sacrificed, be-
 cause a few, of Oliverian principles, have averted
 the minds of their countrymen from their ge-
 nuine happiness. Is Ireland, because she pre-
 fers

fers allegiance to the best of Kings, to a scene of desolation and rebellious factions, to be styled as slaves ; to bear the cruel imputation of servitude, because she is satisfied with an admirable administration. Detested be the invectives, that wish to animate intestine commotions—horrid maxims ! that tend to inflame the minds of our fellow-subjects. If the instigators of dissension, are not content with the mode of their own government, let them seek for a better in foreign countries ; and if they do not return to their own, with abhorrence of their past thoughts ; with a consciousness, that not such a one exists in the universe—what a heart must he possess. Mr. P. must imagine, his abilities to extend beyond almost the limits of human intelligence, if he can deem himself capable of giving even hints that have escaped the penetrating eye of administration. Look round the other empires of the world—Is there one in so flourishing a state as our own ? Is there one, where the subjects enjoy so great blessings ? What is there deficient, that human nature can require ?

Monfieur De Lolme, in a Treatise of the English Constitution, lately published, asks the following question ; which he himself answers.

“ Are

“ Are not the English perpetually making
 “ complaints against the administration? And
 “ do they not speak and write as if they were
 “ continually exposed to grievances of every
 “ kind? Undoubtedly, I answer, in a society
 “ of beings subject to error, dissatisfactions;
 “ from one quarter or other, will necessarily
 “ arise; and in a free society they will be open-
 “ ly manifested by complaints: but those com-
 “ plaints, let it be remembered, are not, in En-
 “ gland, the cries of oppression, forced at last to
 “ break its silence—They do not suppose hearts
 “ deeply wounded; nay, I will go farther,
 “ they do not even suppose very determinate
 “ sentiments, and they are often nothing more
 “ than the first vent which men give to their
 “ new, and yet unsettled conceptions.”

Mr. P. finely remarks, “ that if there was no
 “ public debt, there would be no occasion for
 “ half the present taxes”.—If the exigencies of
 state had not required the demands of money,
 there would have been no debts: but is the pre-
 sent administration to be censured, because of
 debts contracted by many a prior one?

If.

If Mr. P. or Mr. B. think we injure the Americans, and that the colonies are the only asylum of liberty and honour ; if government at home is arbitrary and illegal ; if the people are so degenerated into luxury and refinement ; if they are so loyal as to love and respect their aimable King, let them act as they profess, and in the field of battle be *patricides*, and vindicate rebellion.

S E C T. IV.

Of the honour of the Nation, as affected by the war with America.

TO recede from the contest with rebellion ; to sustain the mortifying triumph of seditious subjects ; to be dictated to by a factious assembly ; to acknowledge the power of Great Britain inferior to the punishment of a few turbulent Americans, are doctrines that no one but an enemy to his country can inculcate.

The

The acts of government were ever esteemed those of the whole nation. They are, I shall only except a few dissatisfied authors, who strive to set the people in a blaze ; but administration, like a rock, is not to be shaken by every trifling gust. If a nation, as well as an individual, errs, let him recede ; the triumph over passion is great and meritorious ; but when justice, honour, and conscious integrity raise the arm, let us not yield without an acknowledgement in the aggressor, and a cessation from the cause of injury. Let the proud American reflect on the lives sacrificed in a detested cause ; let him consider that dishonour must be the attendant of his country ; that in future periods execration will await his name, and the historic page will blush at the narration : but I fear these salutary reflections are far from their deluded minds ; the story when perused by posterity will scarce be credited—For us nothing appears remaining, but that the iron hand of war must root out principles so dangerous, so destructive to the peace of mankind.

Peace

Peace is despair'd !

Who can advise submission ? War—then War, &c.

Let the casuist explore sophistic reason ; let him draw specious deductions ; the voice of simple reason and justice, unadorned with the refinement of art, or the softness of a period, will be loud against him : he may endeavour to drown them, but they will still rise and pour conviction in his ears. Strangers of every climate are amazed at their infatuated ingratitude—strangers whose hearts whisper them, how just, how equitable the British administration has been ever conducted ; how every thing in opposition to public integrity has been discountenanced ; how repugnant the breast of every Briton has been, against the least incroachment of their adored liberty.

There can be no distinction between the people and their governors, in respect to their honour and security ; they are two links, if separated, must be both involved in the same ruin. Government is an institution to effect whatever tends to the dignity or advantage of the kingdom ? Not the will of a mob incapable of discernment.

cernment. The ideal charms of a free government, an equality, may please the enthusiast in his closet—but like a vision of the night it vanishes as we wake. To retreat in a cause where the honour of the nation is concerned, where justice is one of its chief pillars, would cast a stain on our present æra of British history ; would argue a meanness, not to say a sacrifice of that trust, those in office are confided with. Where the cause of quarrel does not spring from ourselves, it would be infamous to make concessions to the aggressors, and those aggressors rebels. Surely the united power of the British empire need not dread, or be intimidated by her colonies !—A powerful nation to acknowledge the acts of the wisest, most humane legislature in the world, to be arbitrary, cruel, and unjust—this powerful nation at the zenith of her glory !—The reader must shudder at the thought. To behold his country at the feet of an insulting American, confessing the superiority over Great Britain, renouncing all past errors, with hope of forgiveness, if never guilty of the same indiscretion again—For shame ! Such language would rouse the resentment of the tamest mortal. To the man whose breast does feel its force,

force, all argument must be unavailing. A writer must find his subject very defective if he endeavours to draw comparisons where there is not the least affinity. Were the Corsicans in the same situation, with respect to the Genoese, or the French, as our colonies to us? Are either of their governments similar to ours? If the Corsicans had been under a legislature as equitable as ours, they would never have rose in arms. "All cessions of one people to another" are disgraceful to human nature." Undoubtedly: but who ever expressed a thought of ceding America? Are such acts consonant to the tenor of a British Parliament?

Since the creation of the world there never was a government so admirably administered as our own. All quotations, except where circumstances resemble exactly, are of no efficacy. Holland, alarmed at the cruel exactions, the tyrannical persecutions against her by the Spanish monarch, threw off the yoke: but where has been these dreadfully cruel invasions against the colonies? Are the acts of the Roman republic, at one period, under the tyranny of tribunes, dictators, but never enjoying any true liberty,

to

to be held in competition with the British Parliament ? The comparison of a magnificent palace to an humble cot would be equally striking. All Mr. P.'s comparisons are as foreign to the purpose. England that would shed her dearest blood in the defence of freedom ; that would rear her irresistible standard against tyranny and oppression, would never surely spread her protecting arm for those who assume that name for the most detested purposes. It would ill become those celebrated in the glorious defence of liberty, to stile rebellious subjects by that generous title. The language of history in future periods will be, that the natives of Great Britain, convinced of the amazing difference between the cause of real liberty, and the cry of ambition veiled under the specious mask of freedom ; though they would support the one, yet would not suffer the other to rear her hypocritic head. It generally happens in politics, as well as religion, that the discontented exclaim against the prevailing mode of either.

Mr. P. ascribes our persuasion to begin hostilities was an opinion of their cowardice. I am sorry he should ascribe so mean a motive to a
war

war undertaken to support the rights of this country ; or that English valour should require so despicable motive, in a cause where the honour of his native country is so nearly interested. The noble Lord, Mr. P. mentions to have recommended, at the passing of the Boston port-bill, coercive measures, undoubtedly imagined that the Americans were not so lost to every sense of honour and allegiance, as well as to their own interest, to have dared to continue their hostile intentions against the parent state. Had the Americans been esteemed as brave as the most romantic valour could aspire to, would that have daunted us, when the honour of our country called for the arm of martial justice ? The encomium paid to my countrymen is great ; yet this calumniator of British courage pretends to be a subject of our gracious King.

That we might not too much drain our own country of its inhabitants, it was deemed requisite to introduce foreign troops into America. Those troops will be inspired by the justice of the cause they are engaged in. While we are vindicating not only our own rights, but those of mankind in general, not even France or Spain, averſe

averse as they are to the rising grandeur of our kingdom, would seize an opportunity, when they must be convinced, that not only our own glory is concerned, but that the subjection of the whole western world depends on the present contest.

It is impossible to conceive the effect, if we had receded in our acts relative to America. Other nations, under the administration of England might have deemed that they had an equal privilege to be exempted from the power of English government; at least, if we may credit Mr. P. he esteems all order and allegiance a proof of servitude. I wish all who profess such maxims, lived under a different government—whether Grecian or Roman, they would then have known the inestimable blessing of our admirable constitution. After this war with America is concluded, the colonies will taste the charms of peace and tranquility, will find them more engaging than bloodshed and sedition; they will be then assured, that what they contested for was but a chimerical idea, the fiction of some distempered and unsuccessful ambition. A kingdom when its ho-
nour

nour is injured, that can think of a retreat, must be on the last stage, and lost to every sense of dignity or honour.

S E C T. V.

Of the probability of succeeding in the war with America.

A well conducted army of 30,000 effective men must ever be superior to an innumerable number of raw undisciplined troops, led on by generals without experience, and void of any reason—why they battle against those from whom they derived the blessing they enjoyed. A nation engaged in the cause of freedom will be animated with an irresistible ardor : but where hypocrisy in the leaders assumes the name, and illusion in the people the sole instigator, it will widely differ from those who are thoroughly convinced that their liberties are invaded. To evince the truth of what I advance, with respect to America, it would be difficult to draw a similar comparison from either antient or modern history. The Americans are peculiarly situated.

situated. There is an amazing distinction, when a nation is engaged in the preservation of their rights, and a people battling in the cause of innovation. The event will justify the truth of my assertion. America, at the close of the next year, will recede from her destructive principles ; and, convinced that her manner of acting proceeded from error and artful representation. Our naval force will awe them from an attempt to become masters of the coast. If we had no maritime power, how could we ensure protection to our land forces ? If, as Mr. P. imagines, they prefer destroying their sea-port towns, to the leaving them a prey to their injured enemies, one purpose is thereby answered. If no naval force had opposed their maritime towns, they would have been masters of the sea. If they rebuild their towns more inland, the advantages of commerce will be lost ; without them, how can they propose to enrich their country, or even support it ? Recall the golden age ; let them live on the pasture of their own lands ; let the necessaries of life be all that's requisite : banish the passions of mankind ; let the innate principle of every one be so honest and upright as to require no laws, no magistrate ; let every

one

one, content with an equality, never to aspire to superiority—they then will arrive to “that state of virtuous simplicity.” I believe Mr. P. speaks the sense of (though I will not say the wisest) men in America, yet he argues from principles truly American. To argue about the probability of a war, when at present it can be only that of opinion, is simply giving our own conjectures: but where the wisest steps that human sagacity can devise, are proposed and put into execution, there is all human probability that the event will be what every lover of his country would desire. Mr. P. is undoubtedly free from any superstition that regards the interest of his country: but where there is the least opportunity to canvass the actions of an equitable administration, and to censure the actions of Parliament, that firm friend to the established faith, he will clamour against every thing will reflect honour to either. “In this hour, says Mr. P. of tremendous danger, it would become us to turn our thoughts to Heaven.”—A piety of conduct adorns every man; but it deviates far from presbyterian cant, or so much superstition. We ridicule them as fanatics. If people will merit the appellation, let them not pass

unmolested. I wish that every man may enjoy his *façon de penser*, but let him not, because he differs from general opinion, strive to raise commotions. I know the pretended rigor of the presbyterians would grow sour at the very name of a masquerade, or any amusement; while, if they imagine themselves exempt from the inspection of a stranger, would commit as many faults as the greatest frequenter of the most public diversion.

Let us picture the real difference between our own kingdom and the colonies. Great-Britain, powerful, free, and opulent, the seat of arts and refinement, eminent for the extensive talents in every branch of human knowledge; and at present all these co-operating under the best of ministers, to raise the British name to the highest pinnacle of fame. While the colonies, like a fair field, badly sown; the weeds entirely oppress the fine fruits it might have yielded; but what was said by an antient philosopher, that there never was an opinion, however absurd, but found its supporters; so there never was a people, however seditious, but would have a defender. The people of
York.

Yorkshire are not subjects of the people of Middlesex ; they are fellow-subjects, all acknowledging allegiance to law and government ; so it has been with the Americans ; they must either be subordinate to England, or totally alienated from it. We are taxed by our own representatives ; their situation will not admit of it. With regard to their trade, enough has been before remarked. “ If they cannot,” says Mr. P. “ subsist without us, let them alone, they “ will soon come back.” Let any one ask him, if they would ever have been in a degree of opulence, had we not fostered them ; or rather, would they have been a people at all ? Mr. P. is offended, because Parliament is contented with the measures of the minister—because the two houses have judgment to distinguish when public affairs are in the hands of honour and integrity. The influence of the crown cannot be prejudicial to the liberties of the kingdom, while the representatives of the people are so guarded in their trust. Conscious of the important duty ; conscious that the rights of millions are confided to them, they would vindicate the nation in opposing any attempt to unconstitutional measures. In India, avarice has been the fatal cause of

many oppressions ; but has government been defective in any point to stop its diffusion ? Have not judges been sent over, with powers to decide and superintend any illegality ? But the voice of censure ought not to cloud every one that goes to so distant a quarter of the globe ; and in defence of many gentlemen that have made ample fortunes, I will venture to assert, that they have not deviated from the strictest honour or humanity.

It is evident, that the colonies, actuated by the turbulent principles of their ancestors ; some prompted by ambition, others instigated by a restlessness of disposition ; some from giddiness, others from illusion, gave rise to this detested rebellion.

C O N C L U S I O N.

AFTER all, I am inclined to make some allowance for the false reasonings this pamphlet of Mr. P. abounds with. Mr. P. is a dissenting preacher, born and nourished in the very bosom of sedition. I do not speak the language of bigotry or persecution ; but I cannot help considering

sidering the dissenters as secret enemies to government, and an *imperium in imperio*. It is true, that at the accession of the present family, they prayed and preached for its prosperity ; but it was in hopes, as it came from Germany, and was bred up in a religion similar to theirs, it would favour them more and more, till their favourite republicanism and presbyterianism could be established. The Dissenters grew dissatisfied ; and they are now as much enemies to the real government of this country, as they have ever been. The Dissenters may say, they are in the right ; that they have reason, the laws of nature, Mr. Locke and Mr. Sydney on their side. This does not admit of a consideration. The government and people of England are against them, for they are neither republicans nor presbyterians. Mr. P. is both the one and the other ; and reasons throughout his pamphlet as such, and not as a member of the English constitution. He is in fact no member of the English constitution—He is a member of faction, which has been, and ever will be, in politics and religion, at enmity with the constitution. The reader will permit a quotation which will illustrate this point from an excellent pamphlet,

lately

lately published [The Morality of a Citizen].

“ Every body is preserved by the concurrence
 “ of the general principles which belong to it,
 “ towards its preservation. Whatever is intro-
 “ duced into it, and has not that concurrence, is
 “ a disease; and though it may accidentally
 “ produce good, it is always to be guarded
 “ against, and considered as an evil. All kinds
 “ of dissents and oppositions to the regular ope-
 “ rations of a civil constitution, are political
 “ diseases; and though they may, like natural
 “ ones, chance to be productive of great good,
 “ yet their primary and natural tendency is to
 “ destroy the constitution.”

Again, “ The question is, whether it be a
 “ man’s duty to obey the laws and customs of
 “ his country, the reasons of which he may
 “ or may not understand, from a regard to that
 “ principle which we have observed to be at the
 “ foundation of society; or set up his opinion
 “ against the public, and gratify himself at the
 “ expence of its peace and security?”

The reverend Dr. P. may be surprized at
 my not having given him the title he assumes;
 but

but as I was informed he was no graduate, I thought it of very little signification.

With respect to Mr. P.'s conclusion, as it is only a plan of sacrificing all that is dear to us, it requires no comment. The heart of every Briton must be the censurer of such a thought.

The press teems with invectives levelled at the minister, who, confident of his own integrity, permits them to remain in that oblivion they never rose from. Why should an equitable administration support every needy writer, who finding themselves deservedly neglected, deluge, from their airy regions, their insignificant abuse ; give them but a *douceur*, the case is altered, and they are as lavish of their praise, equally unimportant, as their censure.

It must surely be the triumph of every Englishman, that in whatever nation his desire of improvement, his interest, or his pleasure, may lead him, that he can assert, that the pilot of his native country is addicted to no one destructive vice : that no extravagant fondness for women ; no ruinous attachment to gaming ; no continual

round

round of expensive amusements, to divert his attention from the important employ he is entrusted with ; that his domestic virtues go hand in hand with his public ones ; and that his affection for his King and country support him in his arduous task, *malgré* the censure of those, either envious of his personal merit, or the weighty office under his charge.—*Peace to all such !*

The freedom of our constitution is the wonder and praise of every stranger. The reader will, I hope, permit me a few detached remarks on the original spring from which we derive our admirable system of government, so extremely dissimilar to all others.

England was never, I mean subsequent to the heptarchy, divided into more than one monarchy. The division of Spain and France into so many petty principalities, where every little king reigned with despotism, and were all desirous of assisting each other in the subversion of the least spark of freedom. Italy, by the oppression of papal power, by the insatiate exactions of the clergy, by their enthusiastic fanaticism,
adopted

adopted those maxims by which alone priestly dominion can be established and maintained. The constitution of England, free in its very nature, prior to the introduction of the feudal system by the Conqueror ; then, though the glorious flame was smothered by the subversion of the Saxon legislature, fortunately he adapted a few of its laws, on the basis of which sprung the consequent struggles of the people.

People of all stations, when they perceived any infringement on the rights of the nation, were eager to form themselves as a rampart against the royal encroachments ; the barons, in their Aristocratic views ; the people in the hope of enlarging their privileges : they were in want of mutual support ; but the people, conscious that many tyrants were more destructive than one, seized the occasion, and stipulated conditions for themselves.

In Spain and France, conquest or alliance at last united their kingdoms into one monarchy. The people, always accustomed to a slavish subjection, carried the same sentiments to their new lords, who as being so much more power-

And, next in its bud any inclination to a spirit of freedom.

A variety of fortunate circumstances paved the way to our happy constitution. The usurpations of Henry the First, A. D. 1100, was the original step to actual freedom. A usurped authority would, he was confident, even in that unenlightened age, be subject to much controversy, if he did allure (by some popular actions) the attachment of the people : his first step was, the granting of many privileges to the clergy, who, as they then possessed so extensive a power, must have been bribed into good humour. The civil charter, on the foundation of which the *Magna Charta* was formed, owed its origin to the same cause. The trial by jury, that bulwark of liberty, was planned originally by the laws of Alfred ; but the people in that rude age, accustomed to arms, seldom had recourse to it, and pursued the trial by duel, as more consonant to their unpolished manner of thinking ; but in A. D. 1176, to the immortal memory of Henry the Second, it was revived, though he had not sufficient influence entirely to abolish the other. It is a difficult task, either to change a long accustomed

customed manner of action or thinking. In A. D. 1215, the great charter made its appearance; so that the usurpation of Henry and the imbecility of John, were the happy means of laying the foundation stone to our constitution, superior to any in being.

I think it a remarkable contrast in the disposition of England and its neighbouring rival, the French; the difference of the two charters that appeared at the same period of time—the one formed for the felicity of a whole united people, exalted, middling, and humble stations alike participated of its influence; the other, framed for the eminence of a few nobles, disregarding of their fellow creatures, whose toilsome lives, independent of that inhumane slavery they were oppressed under, surely merited some portion of attention.

If we examine into a period, though long subsequent to the charter, I mean the reign of the Stuarts, we shall see the extreme caution the guardians of our rights acted with. As long as a native king was seated on the throne, he was naturally attached to his own nobles. Favours
from

from a gracious king print deep impressions on a grateful mind ; they were ready to support him : but as soon as a stranger was in possession of the reins, addicted to, and preferring his countrymen, it raised the suspicions of those, long accustomed to enjoy the favour of the sovereign, tenacious of their own honour, and attentive to every *minutiae* of a foreign prince.

F I N I S.

